

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BONN

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EXDIS, TOSEC 212 ZFF4 CAIRO ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: TRIREGIONAL DECLARATION

1. ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN DISCUSSED WITH AMBASSADOR  
YASUKAWA FEBRUARY 27 US PROPOSALS FOR NEXT STEPS IN  
DEVELOPMENT OF TRIREGIONAL DECLARATION. HARTMAN SAID  
SECRETARY HAD HOPED TO DISCUSS MATTER DIRECTLY WITH  
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YASUKAWA, BUT HAD BEEN UNABLE DO SO BEFORE DEPARTURE FOR MIDDLE EAST AND IN VIEW OF URGENCY IN DEVELOPING AGREED PARALLEL US AND GOJ APPROACHES TO EUROPEANS ON THIS ISSUE, HAD ASKED HARTMAN TO CONVEY US VIEWS TO YASUKAWA.

2. HARTMAN PROVIDED YASUKAWA US DRAFT TALKING POINTS (PARAS 9-14 BELOW) WHICH HE PROPOSED US AND JAPANESE AMBASSADORS MIGHT USE, AFTER THEY HAVE BEEN SUITABLY AMENDED, IN CERTAIN EUROPEAN CAPITALS IN EFFORT SECURE EUROPEAN SUPPORT FOR A TRIREGIONAL DECLARATION TO BE SIGNED DURING POSSIBLE PRESIDENTIAL TRIP TO EUROPE THIS SPRING. APPROACHES IN CAPITALS ALSO WOULD BE SUPPORTED BY DISCUSSIONS WITH ALLIES HERE IN WASHINGTON.

3. HARTMAN REQUESTED JAPANESE VIEWS ON TALKING POINTS AND AGREEMENT TO APPROACH OUTLINED IN US PAPER AS SOON AS

POSSIBLE. HE SAID WE ANTICIPATE RECEIVING REVISED VERSION OF US-EC BILATERAL TEXT BY MARCH 5 AND, AFTER REVIEWING TEXT, US WOULD PREPARE DRAFT OF A TRIREGIONAL DECLARATION FOR DISCUSSION WITH GOJ. DEMARCHES TO EUROPEANS ON OVERALL, TRIREGIONAL CONCEPT, HOWEVER, NEED NOT AWAIT DEVELOPMENT OF TRIREGIONAL TEXT AND, HARTMAN NOTED, IF GOJ RESPONDS QUICKLY TO US TALKING POINTS PAPER, PARALLEL DEMARCHES TO EUROPEANS COULD BE MADE AS SOON AS NEXT WEEK, ALLOWING SUFFICIENT TIME TO STUDY EUROPEAN REACTION BEFORE NEXT MEETING BETWEEN US REPS AND EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS IN MID-MARCH.

4. HARTMAN NOTED THAT, WHILE DECISION ON PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE HAS NOT YET BEEN MADE, WE ARE POINTING TOWARD END OF APRIL FOR PLANNING PURPOSES. HE SAID WE ARE AWARE POMPIDOU PLANS TO VISIT JAPAN DURING THIS SAME PERIOD. ON INFORMAL BASIS, HARTMAN ASKED WHETHER, IN ADDITION TO DATES FOR POMPIDOU VISIT, THERE WERE ANY OTHER DATES IN LATE APRIL-EARLY MAY WHEN TANAKA WOULD BE UNABLE TO TRAVEL TO EUROPE TO SIGN POSSIBLE TRIREGIONAL DECLARATION.

5. YASUKAWA SAID, ON PERSONAL BASIS, HE COULD SEE NO  
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OBJECTION TO APPROACH OUTLINED IN US PAPER. AS FOR TIMING, YASUKAWA SAID HE PERSONALLY COULD SEE NO REASON WHY TANAKA COULD NOT TRAVEL TO EUROPE AFTER POMPIDOU VISIT, AT END OF APRIL OR EARLY MAY, BUT SAID HE WOULD SEEK ADDITIONAL INFORMATION. HE WAS CONCERNED, HOWEVER, THAT TRIREGIONAL DECLARATION PROPOSAL COULD LEAD TO ANOTHER CONFRONTATION WITH FRANCE IN WAKE OF THE ENERGY

CONFERENCE, WITH FRENCH PERHAPS REFUSING TO PARTICIPATE.

6. YASUKAWA ASKED WHETHER ONCE WE HAD RECEIVED NEW DRAFT US-EC TEXT, US WAS THINKING OF DROPPING BILATERAL AND TRANSFORMING US-EC TEXT INTO TRIREGIONAL DOCUMENT. HE ALSO WISHED TO KNOW WHETHER US INTENDED TO GO AHEAD WITH US-EC DECLARATION REGARDLESS OF EUROPEAN REACTION TO TRIREGIONAL PROPOSAL. IN REPLY, HARTMAN SAID WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE A SATISFACTORY US-EC DECLARATION IS POSSIBLE, AND THAT TRIREGIONAL DECLARATION SHOULD BE AN ADDITIONAL DOCUMENT. HARTMAN SAID HE DOUBTED EUROPEANS WOULD AGREE TO A NATO DECLARATION IF IT WERE NOT ACCOMPANIED BY A BILATERAL US-EC TEXT. AS FAR AS FRENCH WERE CONCERNED, WE HOPED THEY WOULD ACCEPT SOME FORM OF TRIREGIONAL DOCUMENT. BY MAKING PARALLEL DEMARCHES, WE HOPED THAT WE AND THE JAPANESE TOGETHER COULD CONVINCE THE EUROPEANS OF THE VALUE OF THE TRIREGIONAL APPROACH.

7. IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION WITH DEPTOFF, JAPANESE EMBASSY COUNSELOR DONOWAKI EXPLAINED THAT GOJ IS CONCERNED THAT THIS ISSUE NOT DEVELOP IN SUCH A WAY THAT JAPAN IS CAUGHT IN MIDDLE OF ANOTHER DIVISIVE DEBATE BETWEEN US AND ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES, PARTICULARLY FRANCE. HE ALSO NOTED IT WAS HIS IMPRESSION THAT TOKYO PREFERS RELATIVELY UNCONTROVERSIAL DRAFT, ALONG LINES OF EARLIER GOJ TEXT, AND IF US IS NOW THINKING IN TERMS OF A TEXT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT FOR EUROPEANS TO ACCEPT, GOJ MIGHT WELL HAVE SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT TRIREGIONAL PROJECT.

8. THE FOLLOWING ARE TALKING POINTS HANDED TO YASUKAWA:

9. "PRESIDENT NIXON AND SECRETARY KISSINGER HAVE  
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REITERATED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, BOTH PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY, THEIR DESIRE AS PART OF THE ATLANTIC DECLARATION EXERCISE, TO DEVELOP A SINGLE DOCUMENT TO INCLUDE NORTH AMERICA, THE EUROPEAN ALLIES, AND JAPAN IN A TRI-REGIONAL DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

10. "WE HAVE TAKEN THIS POSITION BECAUSE WE STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT, WHILE INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN THE THREE REGIONS ALREADY IS A REALITY, THE WORKING OF THIS INTERDEPENDENCE WOULD BE GREATLY BENEFITED BY A JOINT POLITICAL DECLARATION EFFECTIVELY SYMBOLIZING TO OUR RESPECTIVE PUBLICS THE CLOSE TIES BETWEEN US, AND CHARTING THE BROAD OUTLINES OF OUR FUTURE RELATIONSHIPS.

11. "WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT SEPARATE BILATERAL DECLARATIONS BETWEEN THE EC AND THE US, AND PERHAPS THE EC, JAPAN, AND CANADA, WOULD SYMBOLIZE THE CHAIN OF RELATIONSHIPS NEARLY AS FORCEFULLY. WHILE THESE OTHER DOCUMENTS WOULD HAVE VALUE IN THEIR OWN RIGHT, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THEY ARE A SUBSTITUTE FOR A TRIREGIONAL DECLARATION.

12. "SINCE WE BELIEVE THIS NEW DOCUMENT SHOULD INCLUDE AT LEAST MINIMAL LANGUAGE ON SECURITY, WE CAN UNDERSTAND THAT THE EC, AS AN INSTITUTION, MIGHT HAVE DIFFICULTY IN AGREEING TO A DECLARATION OF THIS NATURE.

13. "HOWEVER, A US-EC-JAPAN DECLARATION IS NOT THE ONLY AVAILABLE FORMAT. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE SOME FORM OF A TRIREGIONAL DOCUMENT IS POSSIBLE--PERHAPS SIGNED BY THE MEMBERS OF THE EC AND SEVERAL OTHER ALLIES (E.G., US, CANADA, NORWAY) PLUS JAPAN, BUT WITH NO RPT NO INSTITUTIONAL LINK TO EITHER NATO OR THE EC PER SE.

14. "THEREFORE, WE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR VIEWS ON THE TRIREGIONAL CONCEPT, LOOKING TOWARD AGREEMENT ON AN APPROPRIATE FORMAT FOR A TRIREGIONAL DECLARATION TO BE SIGNED AT SUMMIT LEVEL, INCLUDING PRIME MINISTER TANAKA, DURING PRESIDENT NIXON'S TRIP TO EUROPE AT THE TIME OF SIGNATURE OF THE US-EC AND NATO DECLARATIONS."

15. ADDRESSEES, APART FROM EMBASSY TOKYO, SHOULD NOT  
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DISCUSS FOREGOING WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS PENDING FURTHER  
GUIDANCE. CASEY

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